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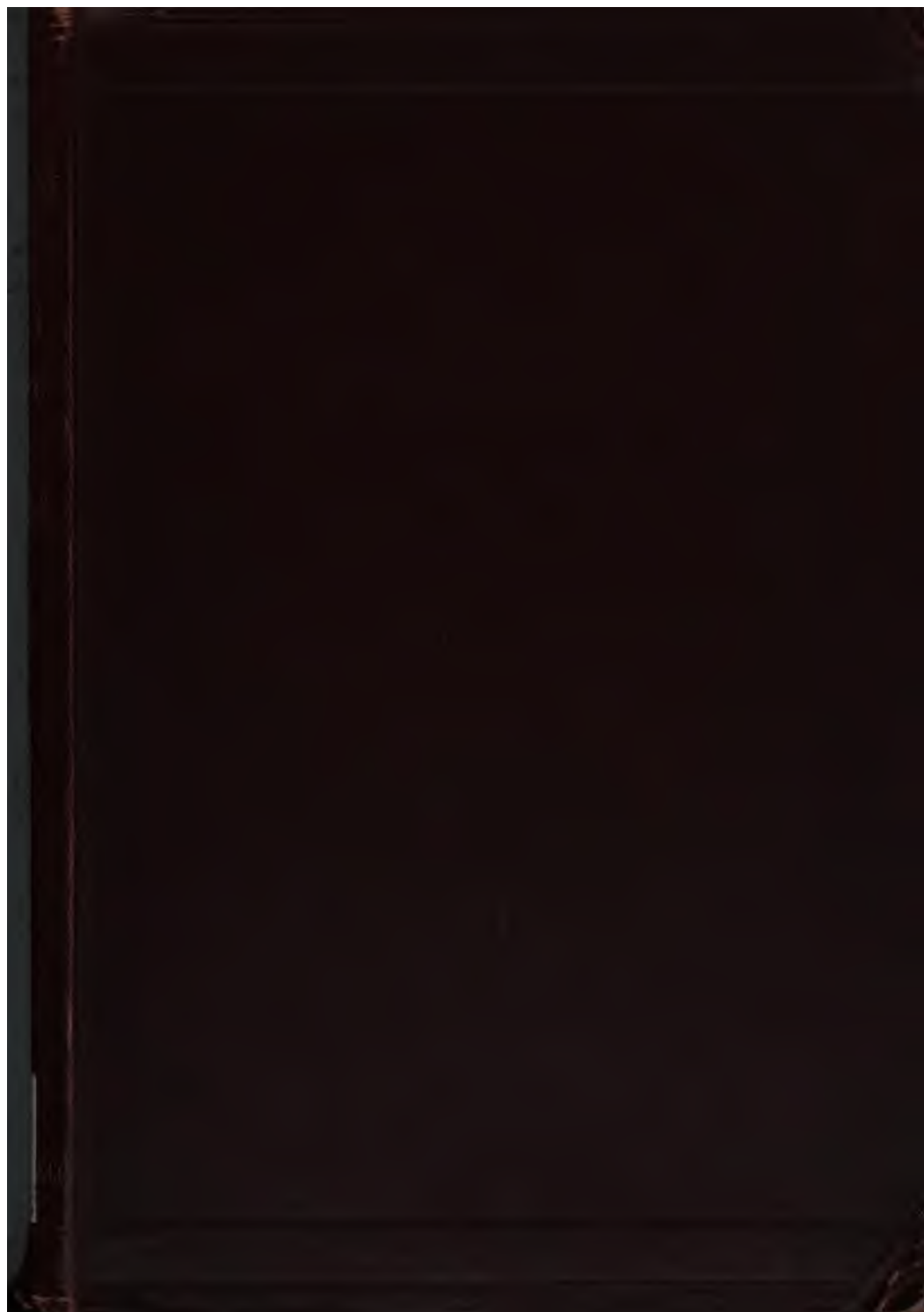
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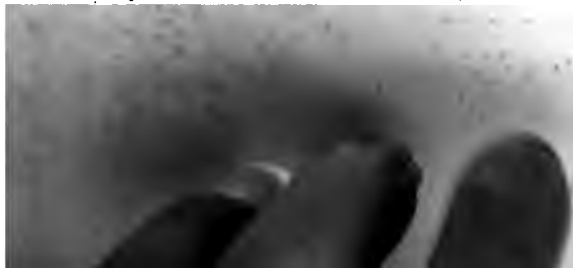
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1896



WOMEN AND CHILDREN LEAVING JOHANNESBURG

# JOHANNESBURG IN ARMS

1895-96

BY

THE OBSERVATIONS OF A CASUAL WITNESS FOR

BY

CHARLES G. THOMAS

1896

JOHANNESBURG: J. H. & C. CO., LTD.

1896

JOHANNESBURG



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LONDON

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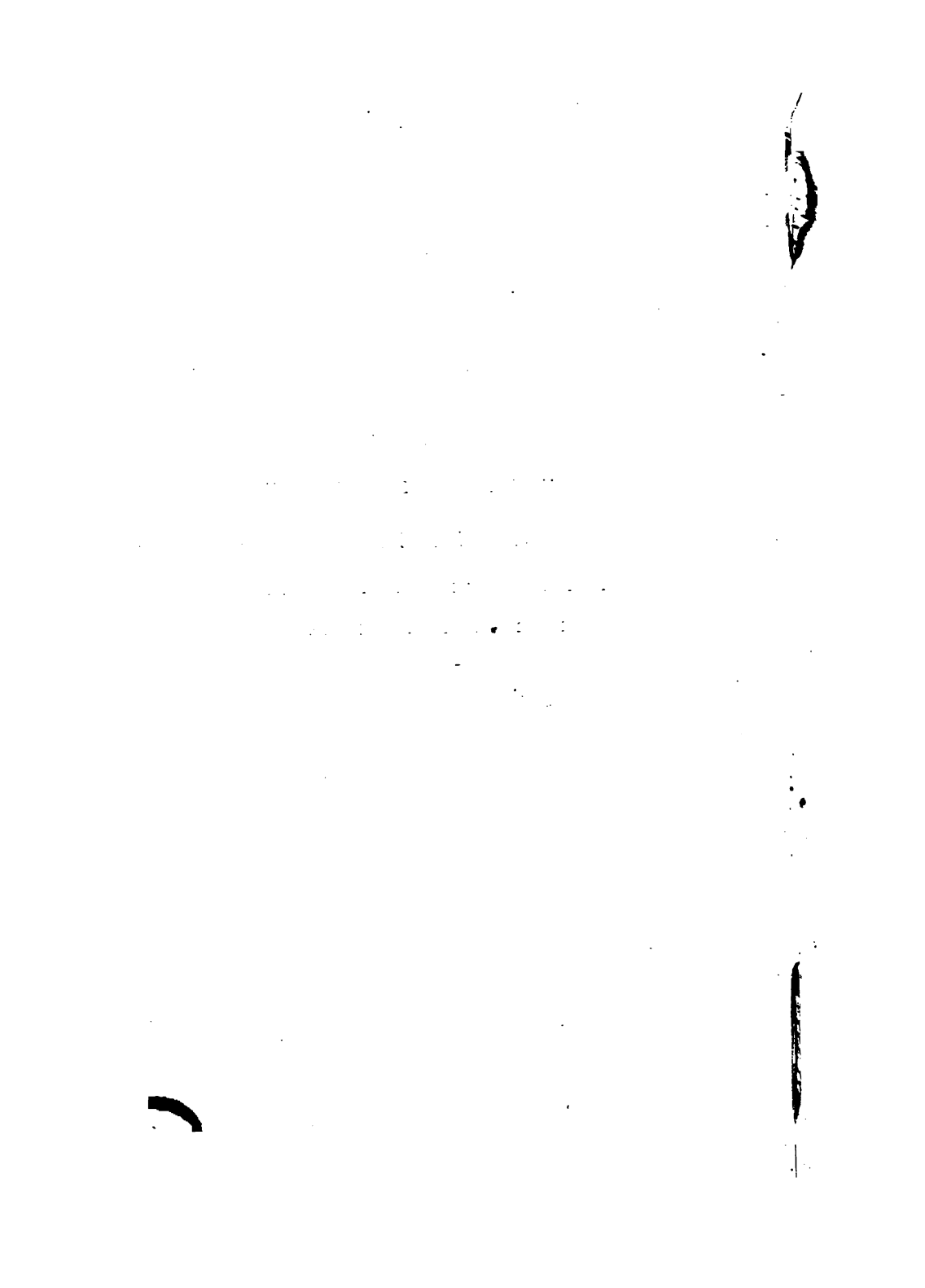
CECIL JOHN RHODES

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF ADMIRATION

FOR HIS POLICY AND GENIUS

---

*ORIELENSI ORIELENSIS*



## P R E F A C E

THE following pages do not pretend to be a history of the struggle of Johannesburg to throw off the yoke of Boer dominion, or of Dr. Jameson's daring endeavour to aid the movement. Nor do they attempt to inquire how far that movement was a step towards the unification of South Africa, which is believed to be the policy of South Africa's master-mind. They simply record the impressions of a chance visitor to the town during the period of the rising, and consist for the most part of notes, hastily made during a time of great excitement, of events from day to day.

C. G. T.

JOHANNESBURG:

*January 8, 1896.*



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# JOHANNESBURG IN ARMS



## CHAPTER I

### THE MANIFESTO

‘Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur.’—VIRGIL.

CHANCE took me to Johannesburg in the closing days of 1895. After three or four months spent in Matabeleland it had been my intention to proceed, *via* Salisbury in Mashonaland, to Beira, and thence by a steamer of the German East Africa line, *via* Zanzibar, to Europe. But the rainy season having set in, and the Beira route being uncertain at that period of the year, I determined at the last

moment to travel by coach from Bulawayo to Pretoria, and, after spending a day or two at Johannesburg, to board the same steamer at Delagoa Bay.

A coach journey across the Veldt is not a pleasure trip. To travel day and night for six days in a vehicle crowded to its full capacity of twelve passengers, with practically no opportunities of rest, by a road that is often no road, jolting over rocks and through the beds of rivers, now ploughing through sandy wastes, now dragging heavily through miles of bog, accompanied for the most part by clouds of dust, with the relentless tropical sun above—all this is wearing alike to body and mind. Breakdowns are of frequent occurrence. On this occasion an axle snapped twenty miles out from Bulawayo, and we waited ten hours till a fresh coach could be

procured to take us on. But we made up time on the rest of the journey, and arrived punctually at Pretoria at three o'clock on the afternoon of Christmas Day.

Pretoria, the seat of Government of the South African or Transvaal Republic, is situated in a green valley at an elevation of 4,500 feet above the level of the sea, about sixty miles outside the Tropics, and thirty miles north of its young but most vigorous rival, Johannesburg. It is a pleasant town, of white houses, broad streets, and abundant trees. Like all inland South African towns, its central feature is a large market-place, rendered necessary by the huge 'spans' of oxen which daily bring in waggons laden with supplies. On this particular afternoon the market-place was crowded with waggons, in which the Boer farmers had brought their

wives and generally numerous families—many from great distances—to spend, according to custom, Christmas in town. All day long services were proceeding in the church which occupies the centre of the market-square, and Boers, big and little, were flocking in to the only service which many of them, pious people as they are, can attend during the year. It was an eminently peaceful scene, containing no hint of what was to happen before the New Year dawned.

The following morning the market-place was empty, the waggons having 'trekked' at sunrise. In the afternoon I went on with S——, who had travelled with me from Bulawayo, to Johannesburg.

The inhabitants of Johannesburg are so greatly concerned with winning the riches of



BOER FAMILY TREKKING



their marvellous 'Main Reef' that it may seem strange that they should trouble their minds with politics. Yet the politics of the Transvaal have for some time past been in a somewhat critical and excited condition.

The situation is a curious one, probably without parallel. This South African Republic originated some sixty years ago with a number of Dutch farmers, who, with their families, cattle, and belongings, 'trekked' northwards into the unoccupied lands beyond the Vaal river, with the object of founding an independent State. The history of the young State was long a troubled one. Prolonged civil hostilities and continued wars with native tribes, both within and without its borders, kept the Treasury empty and the people poor. At length, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government.



The principal reasons alleged for this annexation were as follows :—

1. The increasing weakness of the State as regards its relations with neighbouring native tribes, which invited attack on the country and upon the adjoining British possessions.

2. The state of anarchy and faction that prevailed in the community.

3. The danger of invasion by Sekukuni and Cetewayo.

4. The paucity of public funds with which to cope with these difficulties.

The annexation was at first received with mixed feelings. Some strongly approved, some sullenly acquiesced, while the Volksraad sent a deputation to England to protest. In 1879 Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the first administrator, a South African by birth, and

thoroughly in touch with the Boers, was superseded by Sir Owen Lanyon, 'a stiff-necked British soldier, full of fads and prejudices,' with whom they had no sympathies. Mr. Gladstone, too, while in opposition, had condemned in unmeasured terms the annexation of the Transvaal. Taking advantage of his accession to power, a vigorous attempt was made by the National party to throw off the British rule. The chief grievance alleged was 'the levying of taxes by an administration in which they were totally unrepresented.' Then followed the conflict of 1881. The British forces, under Sir George Colley, were hurried up from Natal. Without waiting for reinforcements they engaged the Boers, and were defeated. The British Government thereupon decided to carry out the policy advocated by Mr. Gladstone in

opposition. It recognised the independence of the Transvaal, Great Britain, according to both the London and Pretoria Conventions, retaining the right to supervise treaties with foreign powers.

At this time the Transvaal was a purely pastoral State, very thinly populated, and no one dreamed of the great riches which underlay the soil, and which have since raised the country to a position of great wealth and importance. Gold had, indeed, been found in the Lydenberg district, but the country generally had been but little explored. In 1883 further discoveries were made, resulting in the foundation of Barberton. Capital poured in, prospecting went on in all parts of the country, and in 1886 gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand. What this discovery meant we all know now.

The Transvaal has become the richest and most prominent State in South Africa, and is likely to remain so, unless, as Mr. Chamberlain recently suggested, and as those who are acquainted with those countries can well believe may be the case, its mineral resources should be surpassed by those of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. From a mere collection of iron huts in 1887 has arisen the town of Johannesburg, which, as the Princess Dolgorouki said of the Tuileries under Josephine, 'if it is not yet a court, is certainly no longer a camp.' It is in fact a well-built city, provided with all the appliances of civilisation, and increasing in size and population day by day. Nor is this prosperity merely ephemeral. At the present time gold is being won from the soil at the rate of nine millions sterling per

annum, but we have recently been told on unimpeachable authority that during the next fifty years no less than a thousand millions will be produced. The Transvaal has naturally reaped the benefit of this development. The population has increased fourfold or more, farms have risen greatly in value, and the farmers find a ready market for their produce. One example, which strikes a stranger, will show the general prosperity—there is no copper coinage. A threepenny piece is the lowest coin in circulation. It is cheerfully paid for an evening paper, similar in appearance to the half-penny papers of London or Paris.

And yet what is the political status of the men whose capital, energy, and enterprise have brought this prosperity to the country? They have no part or lot whatever in the

Government of the country. Public life is not open to them. Their interest in public affairs is confined to paying the heavy taxes which the Government levies on their industry. The Government declares them to be 'Uitlanders'—foreigners, here to-day and gone to-morrow. But there is a great New-comer population which regards the country as its permanent home, and demands with justice the rights of citizenship. Yet the Boers themselves cannot claim to be 'Indigenæ.' The State itself is only sixty years old. Many of its most prominent men, including Mr. Kruger, the President, were not born here. The Republic has become a narrow oligarchy. The franchise has been gradually restricted by successive enactments, and is now practically out of the reach of a new-comer, or of his children,

even if born in the country. Add to this that there are grievances about education, the administration of railways, and other matters, and that the Uitlanders accuse the Government and its officials of gross and habitual corruption, and it is no wonder if there is political unrest. The Uitlanders are, in fact, attacking a system against which the Boers took up arms in 1881—‘the levying of taxes on them by an administration in which they are totally unrepresented.’<sup>1</sup>

On this very afternoon of my arrival in Johannesburg a ‘Manifesto’ is issued signed by Mr. Charles Leonard, an Afrikaner<sup>2</sup> lawyer, on behalf of the Transvaal National Union. It is a remarkable document, setting

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for some of the above facts to a paper entitled *The Transvaal and its Story*, by Dr. Hillier.

<sup>2</sup> Afrikaner, i.e. of European descent, but born in South Africa.

forth in clear and temperate language the grievances and demands of the Uitlanders. It constitutes a weighty indictment of every department in the State—the legislature, the executive, the judicial system, and the administration; it reiterates the charges of general corruption, and of cruelty, especially in the administration of native affairs, which have been freely made by the public press; and it asserts that the mining industry cannot stand the drain of the present exactions. As an example of the mischievous system of granting monopolies and concessions, the case of the Dynamite Concession is mentioned :—

‘Some years ago Mr. Lippert got a concession for the sole right to manufacture and sell dynamite and all other explosives. He was to manufacture the dynamite in this country. For years he imported dynamite,



under the name of "guhr impregne," duty free. He never manufactured dynamite in the country, and upon public exposure the Government was compelled to cancel the concession, the President himself denouncing the action of the concessionnaire. For a time we breathed freely, thinking we were rid of this incubus, but within a few months the Government granted virtually to the same people another concession in worse form, under which they are now taking from the pockets of the public 600,000*l.* per annum, and this is a charge which will go on growing should the mining industry survive the persistent attempts to strangle it. . . . . Shortly, the concessionnaires are entitled to charge us 90*s.* a case for dynamite, while it could be bought, if there were no concession, for about 30*s.* a case.' The manifesto

charges one of the members of the Government with receiving a royalty from the concessionnaires on every case of dynamite sold. I have quoted it on this point because it is the subject of common conversation among mining men, and is a matter of great importance to them.

The manifesto asserts that the Government is now spending large sums (derived from taxation of the mining industry) on military preparations, of which the sole object is to coerce those engaged in that industry.

‘ We have now openly the policy of force revealed to us. 250,000*l.* is to be spent on the completing of a fort at Pretoria. 100,000*l.* is to be spent upon a fort to terrorize the inhabitants of Johannesburg. Large orders are sent to Krupp’s for big guns, Maxims have been ordered, and we are even told

that German officers are coming out to drill the burghers. Are these things necessary, or are they calculated to irritate the feeling to breaking point? What necessity is there for forts in peaceful inland towns? Why should the Government endeavour to keep us in subjection to unjust laws by the power of the sword, instead of making themselves live in the heart of the people by a broad policy of justice?

The National Union declares that it desires the maintenance of the Republic as a true Republic, in which every man who is prepared to take the oath of allegiance shall have equal rights, and it summarises its demands as follows :—

1. The Establishment of the Republic as a true Republic.

2. A Grondwet or Constitution which

shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people, and on lines laid down by them ; a Constitution, moreover, which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration.

3. An equitable Franchise Law, and fair representation.

4. Equality of the Dutch and English languages.

5. Responsibility to the Legislature of the Heads of the Great Departments.

6. Removal of religious disabilities.

7. Independence of the Courts of Justice, with adequate and secured remuneration for the Judges.

8. Liberal and comprehensive education.

9. An efficient Civil Service, with adequate provision for pay and pension.

10. Free trade in South African products.

## CHAPTER II

## JAMESON'S RIDE

'Inter arma silent leges.'—TACITUS.

*Monday, December 30.*—For twenty-four hours the population seemed to take the Manifesto, issued on Thursday last, very quietly; but on Saturday the gravity of the situation began to be understood. Startling rumours were spread as to warlike preparations being hurriedly made by the Committee of the National Union, the 'Reform Committee' as it is called. At the morning market there was an enormous rise in the price of provisions. Mealies (Indian corn),

the staple food of the native labourers in the mines, rose to the unheard-of price of 45s. per bag. A few days ago the price was 22s. Flour advanced from 30s. to 60s. per 100 lbs., rice from 3d. to 4½d. per lb., and almost every article in like proportion. It also appeared that there was a sudden demand for arms. A newspaper reporter called at a gunsmith's shop :—

‘Got a revolver for sale, Mr. Perrins?’

‘No, nor a rifle, nor a bayonet, nor a Maxim, nor a 100-ton gun! You can, however, have your pick of those shotguns—at a price.’

‘Thanks, no; the fact is, I wanted a rifle to go hunting up country with, and——’

But Mr. Perrins grew sarcastic as he picked up his correspondence file and replied :

‘Yes, I’ve heard all about that up-country

trip of yours. Look ! here's a company which wants 100 rifles and 200 revolvers, another is asking for 50 revolvers, another for 50 rifles and 100 revolvers ; they are all going up country with you, I suppose. But I can supply no more.'

During the afternoon and evening rumours, largely false, were rampant. It was said that the Boers were marching on Johannesburg, whereas in fact a considerable number of them were quietly leaving the town. A more probable story was to the effect that several thousand rifles had been served out for self-protection at the mines. The most striking evidence of the wave of unrest and apprehension was afforded by the rush, chiefly of women and children, to leave the town by the 11 P.M. train for Cape Colony. Many passengers took their seats as early as 6 o'clock.

The train was said to be the heaviest which had ever left the station. This experience was repeated on Sunday night, the station being crowded with thousands of people for several hours previous to the departure of the train for the South ; and there was a desperate struggle for seats when it drew up at the platform.

On Saturday night several meetings were held to consider the situation, notably one of the Australian residents here, who decided to form a brigade, partly mounted, having for its object the protection of women and children, and the repression of any lawlessness which may arise in the town. Apart from any hostile action which may be taken by the Government, there is sufficient cause for apprehension. In this 'Golden City' of rapid fortunes and general prosperity there is an



enormous criminal population, attracted hither from every country in the world. There are also the Kaffirs to be considered. In the event of the mines being closed, they will be thrown out of work, and, if hostilities take place, may run short of food.

This morning a general enrolment of volunteers has begun under the auspices of the Reform Committee, sitting at the offices of the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, for the purpose of forming a corps 'to preserve law and order, and protect life and property.' I chanced to meet my friend L——, who told me that the Committee had command of an immense number of rifles, and that he himself had been at work at one of the mines until 4 A.M. on Saturday, unloading rifles and ammunition from trucks just arrived. The trucks purported to contain

coke, and had passed the frontier without causing any suspicion.

I called on Mr. —, a member of the Reform Committee and one of the leaders of finance here. He said: 'Nothing can prevent hostilities. I know the Boer temper well. They will not yield except to force. We have made our preparations accordingly. If you want to catch your steamer you had better leave at once, if you can—which is doubtful; railway communication may be closed any day.' However, as revolutions are not to be seen every day, and as a rising of the oppressed capitalist classes seemed likely to present some new features, I determined to stay and see the business through. In this decision I was confirmed by Colonel Rhodes, resident director of the Consolidated Gold-fields, and a leading member of the Reform

Committee, whom I met shortly after. 'You had better see it through, it won't last long,' he said.

The rise in the price of provisions continues to-day, and the hotels have increased their charges. This is the seamy side of revolution. Financial distrust has commenced; many tradesmen are ceasing to give credit, and there is something of a run on the Transvaal National Bank.

At 6 P.M. I went to the Park Station to say good-bye to S——, who is on his way to Natal for the benefit of his health. He had been at the station several hours before the departure of the train, but had only managed to squeeze into a third-class carriage crammed with children.

A proclamation, of which the following is a translation, is issued to-day at Pretoria:—

*‘Proclamation by His Honour the State President of the South African Republic.*

‘Whereas it has appeared to the Government of the South African Republic that there are reports in circulation to the effect that earnest endeavours are being set on foot to bring into danger the good order at Johannesburg; and

‘Whereas the Government is convinced that, should such reports be of a truthful nature, endeavours of such a kind can only emanate from a small portion of the population, and that the greater portion of the Johannesburg population is desirous of maintaining order, and is prepared to support the Government in its endeavours to exercise law and order:

‘So it is that I, STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER, State President of the South

African Republic, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, according to Art. 913 of the Minutes thereof, 30th December 1895, hereby earnestly warn those evilly disposed and command them to remain within the bounds of the law, the alternative being that those who do not hearken to this caution must answer to it on their own risk; and

‘I further make known that life and property shall be protected, where attacks thereupon may be attempted; and that every inhabitant of Johannesburg who is desirous of maintaining order, to whatever nationality he may belong, is hereby called upon to support and assist me, and the officials are ordered to do the same.

‘And, further, I make known that the Government is at all times prepared to duly

consider all grievances which are laid before it in a proper manner, and to lay the same for treatment before the Legislature of the country without delay.

‘GOD SAVE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

‘Given under my hand and seal on this the thirtieth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-five, at the Government Offices at Pretoria.

‘S. J. P. KRUGER,

‘*State-President.*

‘C. VAN BOESCHOTEN,

‘*Acting State-Secretary.*’

Late in the evening a special edition of the *Star* makes the most grave and startling announcement. The Government this morning received telegrams from the Landdrost

of Potchefstroom, and also from another quarter, that a large force of mounted men had crossed the Bechuanaland frontier into the Transvaal, and were evidently *en route* for Johannesburg. The further advance of any such bodies has been ordered to be 'peremptorily stayed' until the purpose of the movement has been ascertained.

There can be no doubt that the force consists of the Chartered Company's mounted police stationed at Mafeking in connection with the settlement of Khama's country, and commanded by Dr. Jameson and Sir John Willoughby. There is intense excitement in the town, and some bewilderment as to the object of this movement, which, however, is sufficiently plain. The struggle has begun in earnest.

If sensational head-lines are ever excus-

able, it is to-night. This is the *Star's* effort :—

CROSSED THE BORDER.

---

FORCES MAKING FOR JOHANNESBURG.

---

CONFLICT LAMENTABLY IMMINENT.

---

SUSPENSE AT AN END.

---

IMMEASURABLE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION.

There was again a tremendous exodus by the Cape Town train to-night. A vast crowd collected at Park Station, and lustily groaned and hooted at the comparatively few men who were in the train. White feathers were presented to them, and they were the butt of merciless sarcasm. One carriage, into which a number of brawny Cornishmen from the mines had crowded, was the especial



object of derision, and went away with the legend 'Cowards' Van' chalked on it. So great is the demand for seats for women and children, that it is stated that no more tickets will be issued to men. The supply of carriages is failing, and to-morrow trucks and luggage-vans will have to be used for passengers.

*Tuesday, December 31.*—The news of Jameson's advance is confirmed. On Sunday night 450 of the British South Africa Company's men, under the command of Dr. Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, Major Heany, and others, left Pitsani Putlugo, the Company's new camp in Bechuanaland. They are well armed and mounted, and have with them twelve Maxims and three Nordenfeldts. At the same time 250 men, under Major the Hon. C. Coventry, left Mafeking with three

Maxims and two seven-pounders. Both parties cut the telegraph wires behind them. A junction was effected at Malmani at 3 A.M. on Monday, and the force expects to reach Johannesburg on Wednesday.

The Secretary of the Reform Committee writes to the Press to-day : 'I am directed to state, for the information of the public, that it is reported a large force has crossed the border into Transvaal territory, and to say that this has taken place without the knowledge of the Committee.' The *Star* says : 'It is considered that Dr. Jameson's irruption into Transvaal territory is due to the wild rumours of disturbance and massacre here, actual or impending, which have been so madly circulated during the past few days.'

All the morning a great crowd is assembled in front of the Goldfields Office.

About noon a striking incident occurs. The Transvaal flag is suddenly displayed from the building. It transpires later that while the Reform Committee was sitting one of its members, Mr. John Hays Hammond, the eminent American engineer who is attached to the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, entered the room with the flag. He raised it aloft, and as he stood with head uncovered his companions too rose to their feet and doffed their hats. With hands raised to heaven, they one and all swore allegiance to the Transvaal Republic and to the true principles of Republicanism. This little drama enacted, the banner was displayed from a balcony, and ultimately hoisted to a flagstaff on the roof.

Half an hour later Mr. J. W. Leonard appeared on horseback among the crowd,

and delivered a remarkable speech. 'My object in addressing you is to assure you that no man, woman, or child in this city need have any fear for the safety of his or her life or property. We of the Reform Committee have taken ample measures to preserve order in the town, and life and property has never been safer in Johannesburg than it is to-day. Our police arrangements are complete, and we have taken care that the town is fully provisioned. Above you waves the flag of the Transvaal Republic. We of the Reform Committee, who have constituted ourselves a Provisional Government, are acting under it solely in the cause of true republican government and of the liberty and safety of the individual. For this cause we are risking our lives. All I ask of you is to act the part of men. Those who

wish to enrol themselves in our organisation will be informed by placards where they can do so. If any man here does not wish to enrol himself he may feel assured that there are ten men to watch over his safety.'

This speech marks a definite step in the history of the Revolution. The words 'a Provisional Government' amount to an open declaration of war against Pretoria.

All day long the tide of enrolment flows strongly. There is, in fact, a desperate struggle to get to the office. At length it is announced that for the present no more men are required by the Reform Committee, and that no more rifles will be issued. Enrolment by the local committees, the Australians, the Scotsmen, &c., still proceeds. It is stated that the Committee has at its instant disposal a larger armed force than



THE SCOTCH COMPANY ON MARKET SQUARE

—

any which the Transvaal Government can put in the field even if the whole fighting force of the State could be immediately mobilised.

During the afternoon great enthusiasm is caused by the appearance of several Maxim guns which are being taken through the streets to some destination outside the town. These are followed by numerous waggons loaded with rifles, which are unloaded at the Goldfields Office. One of the papers thus explains the mystery of how these were smuggled over the border :—

‘HOW THE ARMS CAME UP.

‘The unloading of the ammunition waggons which were brought into the town was quite a revelation to many who had previously wondered how they were passed across



the frontier. Some of the cases were carefully adorned with the legend in large letters, "Poison—this side up," which showed a considerable amount of humour on the part of the consignors. Others were marked "Explosives—for mining purposes," with the additional advice "Keep dry," and nearly all seem to have come by way of Delagoa Bay. Others have escaped undue attention on the part of the Customs authorities through being marked "Sulphuric acid—with care." Some of the Lee-Metford cartridges were packed in sacks, which were heavy enough to tax the strength of two men to carry. The history of the arrival of half a dozen railway trucks loaded with "coke," if probed to the bottom, would, perhaps, account for the presence at this crisis of many cases of rifles which have lately been opened to equip

the numerous corps now so much to the fore. Now that everybody knows that rifles to the number, it is stated, of 50,000 are available for defence, it is interesting to reflect how easy it was to introduce them into the country.'

Cases of ammunition which I saw myself had none of these fictitious legends. They were simply marked 'Safety cartridges,' with the initials of a well-known forwarding agent at one of the coast ports.

Here we have the curious spectacle of a revolution initiated and conducted by the Capitalist class. Behind this movement is an almost limitless amount of money, and all the power that money gives. If it fails, how can the poorer classes in any country ever again, in this era of arms of precision, hope to stand against the powers that be ?

To-day a subscription is opened for the homeless and destitute, and 50,000*l.* is subscribed in an hour or two. The Masonic Hall is fitted up for the reception of women and children who have come in from the outlying districts, and may be homeless. The Stock Exchange will be used for a hospital if necessary. The Transvaal Government police, familiarly called 'Zarps' from the initials Z.A.R.P. on their collars, have disappeared. Their place is taken by men enrolled by the Reform Committee, armed with rifles.

There is one drawback which attaches to the position of mere spectator of great popular movements. Lacking the enthusiasm of the combatant, he is apt to view the utterances and to gauge the position of the popular leaders with too critical an eye. No man born and bred under free institutions can fail

to sympathise with the present struggle to throw off the yoke of the narrow and ignorant Boer oligarchy, but in the present position here there is something ludicrous. The Reform Committee have issued a temperate manifesto stating the objects they desire to attain. Mr. Kruger has shown some disposition to discuss their demands, and is believed in fact to have conceded some. And yet, on a sudden, thousands of men are being enrolled as soldiers; rifles, ammunition, Maxim and Nordenfeldt guns are springing up, as from the bowels of the earth; the English, the Scots, the Australians, the Afrikanders, the Germans, even (it is whispered) the Belgians are organising; and why? 'To preserve law and order and to protect life and property.' Against whom? Are the Boers about to make a final rush, a supreme effort to pre-

serve their dominion, and to quell this turbulent city of Johannesburg? Very likely, but that is not the reason assigned. The Reform Committee has issued the following Proclamation :

*‘ Reform Committee.*

‘ Notice is hereby given that this Committee adheres to the National Union Manifesto, and reiterates its desire to maintain the independence of the Republic. The fact that rumours are in course of circulation to the effect that a Force has crossed the Bechuanaland Border renders it necessary to take active steps for the defence of Johannesburg and preservation of order.

‘ The Committee earnestly desire that the inhabitants should refrain from taking any action which can be construed as an

overt act of hostility against the Government.

‘By order of the Committee,

‘J. PERCY FITZPATRICK,

‘Secretary.’

The innocent stranger would gather from this that the notorious and dreaded free-booter, Dr. Jameson, was marching on the town with hostile intent, and that the citizens were gathering to repel him. But we all know that when he arrives, unless (which Heaven forbid) he and his gallant force fall a prey to the unerring aim of the Boer, he will be received with open arms. Who can doubt that he also will state, as the reason and object of his expedition, that he crossed the border to preserve law and order and to protect life and property? Moreover, no one

is ignorant of the close relations which exist between Dr. Jameson with his band of 'Mr. Rhodes' young men' and the gentlemen who control events from the offices of the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa.

But if, as we are told (too frequently) revolutions cannot be made with rose-water, neither, as it seems, can they be conducted with candour. Perhaps a time is at hand, foreshadowed in the speech of Mr. J. W. Leonard, when the mask will be thrown aside, and the determination to achieve freedom and self-government even at the point of the sword will be avowed. Meantime the cry of 'Protect life and property' is serving its purpose in rallying the weak-kneed and convincing the waverers. One thing alone the all-foreseeing Committee seems to have forgotten. It has omitted to provide a popular

revolutionary song. A feeble attempt was made last night to sing the extremely irrelevant 'Rule Britannia' after an address by Mr. J. W. Leonard to his brother-Afrikaners, and it was followed by an even less successful attempt at 'God Save the Queen.' These failures only serve to demonstrate the need for some soul-stirring revolutionary hymn. Surely it must be within the powers of some member of the Committee to compose an appropriate song, say with the refrain 'Law and Order' or 'Life and Property.'

*Wednesday, January 1, 1896.*—The new year opens with terrible tidings. The Natal mail train which left here on Monday night crammed with women and children has met with a serious accident near Ladysmith. At a sharp curve four of the carriages left the line, and three of them capsized. Thirty or





any which the Transvaal Government can put in the field even if the whole fighting force of the State could be immediately mobilised.

During the afternoon great enthusiasm is caused by the appearance of several Maxim guns which are being taken through the streets to some destination outside the town. These are followed by numerous waggons loaded with rifles, which are unloaded at the Goldfields Office. One of the papers thus explains the mystery of how these were smuggled over the border :—

‘HOW THE ARMS CAME UP.

‘The unloading of the ammunition waggons which were brought into the town was quite a revelation to many who had previously wondered how they were passed across

sixty men, including Sir John Willoughby. If this report is true, Rhodesia has suffered a severe blow, for in the development of the country and its mining industry Willoughby has been one of the most energetic pioneers. Further news is awaited with great anxiety. Jameson's party, it is said, may be expected to arrive here to-night or to-morrow.

It is reported that an armistice of twenty-four hours has been agreed upon, and that a final effort is being made to avert hostilities. Whether the Reform Committee desires peace is an open question, but it is certainly pushing on its preparations for war with great vigour. Troops of armed men are continually passing through the streets. Many of these show signs of having been previously drilled. Probably they come from the mines with

which the 'Reformers' are particularly connected.

This being New Year's Day and a public holiday, all shops are shut. They have also mostly their windows and doors boarded up, and apparently there is no intention to reopen them until the trouble is over.

3 P.M.—The report of an engagement is contradicted. The Reform Committee states that it has reliable information that Dr. Jameson's column has not come into conflict with any of the burghers. One or two shots have been fired, but no real collision has taken place.

The Committee has received the following telegram from Mr. Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony :—

'I have already earnestly urged upon his Excellency the High Commissioner to proceed

at once to Johannesburg. He has communicated with Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger, and is awaiting replies. I hope he will leave to-day.'

Excitement is visibly growing to-day. The chief interest centres in Dr. Jameson's 'headlong and audacious manœuvre.' Since the publication of his letter we hear no more of his having come uninvited. He is hailed by the *Star* to-day as 'the saviour of the situation.'

'The British Government, as in duty bound, may formally repudiate and denounce the great dash, almost a Balaclava Charge for heroism, in which Dr. Jameson is now engaged; but as we are imminently in danger of a sanguinary conflict in our determined attempt to gain political rights, the international jurists may beat the air with vain

words as they please—the assistance of the column must be accepted in defiance of all considerations. The gage has been thrown down to the Boer. There is no retreat from the position which was yesterday assumed. We have to go through with it to the bitter end if the negotiations now in progress should end in failure. Supreme necessity knows no law ; and when Dr. Jameson's column comes through—the fateful issue is momentarily hanging in the balance—the reception which this beleaguered city will accord it will thrill a whole continent.'

5 P.M.—A proclamation of the utmost importance has just been issued. The High Commissioner thunders with bell, book, and candle against the illegal action of Dr. Jameson, and forbids British subjects to render him any assistance. This may have

momentous consequences ; it certainly puts the Reform Committee in an awkward position. On the other hand, it is possible that events may follow the precedent established in the case of the 'Jackdaw of Rheims.'

*' Proclamation by*

His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir Hercules George Robinson, Bart., Member of Her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, K.G.C. of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor. Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and of the Territories, Dependencies thereof. Governor of the Territory of British Bechuanaland, and Her Majesty's Commissioner, &c., &c.

' Whereas it has come to my knowledge

that certain British subjects, said to be under the leadership of Dr. Jameson, have violated the territory of the South African Republic, and have cut telegraph wires, and done various other illegal acts; and

‘Whereas the South African Republic is a friendly State in amity with Her Majesty’s Government; and whereas it is my desire to respect the independence of the said State:

‘Now, therefore, I hereby command the said Dr. Jameson and all persons accompanying him to immediately retire from the territory of the South African Republic, on pain of the penalties attached to their illegal proceedings; and I do further hereby call upon all British subjects in the South African Republic to abstain from giving the said Dr. Jameson any countenance or assistance in his



armed violation of the Territory of a friendly State.

‘GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

‘Given under my hand and seal this 31st day of December, 1895,

‘HERCULES ROBINSON,

‘High Commissioner.

‘By command of His Excellency the High Commissioner.’

It is noticeable that this proclamation, posted at various places in the town, is promptly torn down.

Shortly afterwards Mr. George Farrar announced from the Goldfields Office that the Government of the South African Republic had accepted the offer of Sir Hercules Robinson to go to Pretoria. Colonel Rhodes followed. He asked the people to keep cool

and maintain order. Arms had been distributed in large numbers, but had they had ten times the amount they had collected, they could have found men willing to bear them. The High Commissioner was going to Pretoria to negotiate with the Government, and nothing would be done until those negotiations had been brought to a termination. If the High Commissioner and the Government did not come to terms, he could assure them that the military leaders here would find their task an easy one.

It is understood that an armistice has been agreed to pending the High Commissioner's arrival.

11 P.M.—There have been heavy showers this evening, and comparatively little movement in the streets. About an hour ago Mr. Lionel Phillips appeared at a window

of the Goldfields Office, and made an important statement, putting the attitude of the Committee beyond all doubt. He stated that he had to-day been on a deputation to Pretoria, which informed the Government that the Committee stood by the Manifesto, and that the Government had accordingly decided to accept the High Commissioner's offer to come to Pretoria, with a view to settle differences and avoid bloodshed. He added: 'The Committee wish me to state now, as I stated to the Government, that we intend to stand by Dr. Jameson, who with his gallant little band of followers has come to our succour. (Cries of "Where is Jameson?") Dr. Jameson is now within fifteen miles of this place. If necessary, we are all ready to carry on this movement with our guns. (Cheers.) We have borne

our wrongs and oppressions long enough. Gentlemen, I now call on you to give three cheers for Dr. Jameson. (Loud and enthusiastic cheering.)'

So spake Mr. Lionel Phillips, of Messrs. Eckstein & Co., the associates of Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co., the most prominent of the capitalists of the Rand.

## CHAPTER III

## THE SURRENDER

‘Quæ armis tuebatur armis amisit.’—TACITUS.

*Thursday, January 2.*—Jameson has not yet arrived. Instead comes intelligence—vague and meagre—of very heavy fighting near Krugersdorp, not far from the George and May mine—between his column and a force of 1,500 Boers. The engagement is said to have commenced about three o'clock yesterday afternoon, and to have continued far into the night.

The position of Jameson is indeed an extraordinary one. He is proclaimed a fili-

buster by Her Majesty's High Commissioner ; he will certainly be disavowed by the Chartered Company, whose Chief Administrator he is, and of whose forces he is in command ; he has doubtless broken every rule of international law, the comity of nations, and what not ; but if he succeeds in cutting his way through the opposing forces, he will be received in this town with the wildest enthusiasm by the whole population, certainly by all who are of English race ; he will be held throughout South Africa to have wiped out the defeat of Majuba Hill, and to have rehabilitated the English name.

Of the railway disaster in Natal there is little further news this morning. For the greater part of yesterday telegraphic communication was interrupted, and it has only just been restored. It is stated now that

the number of killed was thirty-five, consisting of five men and thirty women and children.

1 P.M.—The wildest rumours are abroad. The only thing certain appears to be that very heavy fighting has been and perhaps is still taking place between here and Krugersdorp, and that Jameson's force has met with serious loss. It is stated that Captain Lindsell is missing and reported killed. I sincerely hope this is untrue. We were fellow-passengers on the 'Dunottar Castle' last August, and frequently met afterwards at the club at Bulawayo. A widely circulated report is to the effect that Jameson has been surrounded and has surrendered. This becoming known at the Goldfields Office, Mr. J. W. Leonard appeared at the window and exclaimed excitedly, 'It is a lie! Dr.

Jameson is a man ; if you believe he has surrendered, you are not men.' The moderate, almost judicial tone of two or three days ago has disappeared with the march of events ; one might now almost fancy oneself at an English election.

A characteristic story of Jameson is told. When he first met the Boer forces, the Boer Lieutenant Eloff, grandson of President Kruger, rode out alone up to the English column, and asked what they wanted. He was promptly made prisoner, but was shortly set at liberty, though deprived of his arms, for which a receipt was given to him. 'What is this for ?' said he. 'If you will call on me at the Government Buildings, Pretoria,' replied Jameson, 'and produce this, your arms will be restored to you.'

A serious feature of the present position



is the question of the armistice. When it was announced yesterday that the High Commissioner was coming, it was agreed between the Government and the Reform Committee to suspend all military operations until his arrival. It is said that the Committee understood this to apply also to Jameson, and that he would be allowed to enter this town without further opposition. The Pretoria Government is being accused of an act of deliberate treachery. 'If,' it is asked, 'Dr. Jameson succeeds in fighting his way up to our very outposts, and then wants aid, what other alternative can possibly be open to us as men, as an armed organisation, but to lend him all the support that is in our power?'

The situation is extremely critical; it is quite possible that a general conflict may

have commenced before the High Commissioner can appear on the scene.

3 P.M.—Enthusiasm seems to be giving place to anxiety. There is still no definite news of the gallant Doctor and his column. A great concourse of people is waiting his arrival in the streets, and every balcony and window on his supposed line of route is filled. A crowd is waiting as usual in front of the Goldfields Office, and occasionally shouts are raised, ‘Where is the Doctor?’ ‘Tell us the truth.’ But no information is vouchsafed. The rumours of his surrender are persistent, but unconfirmed. If he succeeds in getting through, this previous anxiety will merely serve to enhance the warmth of his reception. The same people who were a day or two ago loudest in their denunciations of his illegal actions are to-

day shouting with the loudest, 'Where is Dr. Jim?'

Nothing is more remarkable than the change of sentiment of what I may perhaps call the 'cosmopolitan' portion of the population of this city: those people who, though more or less English-speaking, are obviously not of English birth or English race. A few days ago these gentlemen were not, as a rule, ardent reformers; certainly not fighting men. In the streets, the hotels, and other places of popular resort, they might be heard ridiculing the idea of a recourse to arms. To-day all is changed. Such is the effect of the organisation of the Reformers, so great the enthusiasm created by Jameson's march, that scarcely a whisper of opposition is heard, and the most unlikely people are wearing the badges of one or other of the corps.

An edition of the *Star* published at 3 P.M. says: 'We are still without definite information as to the exact position of Dr. Jameson's column. It is, however, believed that he has received the High Commissioner's proclamation, which was sent out to him yesterday afternoon by a messenger despatched by Sir Jacobus de Wet, bearing a safe-conduct through the Uitlanders' lines, and that he is now encamped.'

There is a little confusion about this statement, as Dr. Jameson hardly wants a safe-conduct through the Uitlanders' lines; but, if he has received notice of the armistice, it is not improbable that he is encamped. It is stated that his men have hardly had any sleep since starting, and that they rode ninety miles in one day.

6 P.M.—As the hours roll on anxiety

deepens. As far as I can ascertain, the Committee has no definite news of Jameson and is much disconcerted thereby. The transitions from exultation to hope, from hope to fear, from fear to despair are very rapid. It is strange how in the popular mind the fortunes of the Revolution are bound up with the progress of this free-lance, who two days ago was said to be endangering its success by his untimely and unlawful action. The most sinister rumours are now current. A telegram from Krugersdorp says that Jameson has lost a large portion of his force, that he has run short of food and ammunition, and that he must choose between annihilation and surrender.

About five o'clock Mr. Lionel Phillips stated from a window of the Goldfields Office that a despatch containing the High Com-



WAITING FOR NEWS AT THE GOLDFIELDS OFFICE



missioner's proclamation had been sent by special messenger to Krugersdorp yesterday. The despatch had been delivered to Dr. Jameson, and he had surrendered to the authority of the proclamation.

Mr. S. W. Jameson, the Doctor's brother, who is a resident here, but has not hitherto taken any specially active part in the Reform movement, then appeared and assured the crowd that he was perfectly convinced of his brother's safety.

Shortly afterwards, an edition of the *Star* appeared with the following statement :—

‘It seems probable, although no exact information has yet been received, that immediately on receipt of the proclamation Dr. Jameson at once suspended his march, and requested a cessation of hos-



tilities. If he has done so it is considered that he has acted with marvellous self-restraint, and in the best interests of the cause to which he has rendered such generous assistance.

‘Whether or not Dr. Jameson’s column ever reaches Johannesburg, the moral effect of this wonderful march on the spirit of this community cannot possibly be over-estimated. One prominent member of the organisation has assured us that if it were policy, or if there were dire need to raise corps to go to Jameson’s assistance, he would easily have at his command ten thousand men almost as soon as the word could be spoken. Therefore this gallant endeavour, to whatever conclusion it may come, has to a large extent served its purpose.

*'The Defence of the Town.'*

'The position now, not knowing what the intentions of the Boers may be relating to Johannesburg, is to maintain the town in a condition of complete defence. The extent and thoroughness of the dispositions are adequate to any possible attack which could be made upon the town. In case of need the total number of men who could be put under arms, and who are mostly at present under arms, publicly and privately, is estimated at about twenty-five thousand.'

To the crowd it is sufficient that Jameson has 'surrendered.' No nice distinctions are drawn. The waverers are beginning to waver again, the half-hearted have lost the little extra courage they had acquired, and men who an hour or two ago were asking

eagerly where they could get a rifle are shouting that the game is up.

11 P.M.—The gloom of the afternoon has deepened still further this evening. No definite news is obtainable, but it begins to be generally understood that a disaster has happened. An enormous and somewhat unruly crowd has been assembled all the evening in front of the Goldfields Office, shouting continually ‘Where is Jameson?’ ‘Have you deserted him?’ and so on. About nine o’clock Colonel Rhodes appeared at the window and at once obtained a hearing. His words had a most depressing effect. In a voice broken with emotion he said that men had fallen to-day who were his nearest friends, men with whom he had lived on terms of the closest intimacy. This positively staggered the crowd. Unfortunately, he went on to

apologise for the conduct of the Committee ; he could not have believed that such a force as Jameson's, composed of such materials, equipped and led as he knew it to be, would fail to get through ; if he had behaved as a cur, he was willing to bear the punishment. It was a manly speech but woefully out of place. (It was rumoured later that the Colonel had been most anxious to go out to meet Jameson, but was overruled by his colleagues, who considered it impossible in the face of the High Commissioner's proclamation.) He was followed by Mr. J. W. Leonard, who confounded confusion by saying he was ready to answer any questions. The result was a perfect Babel, and little light was thrown on the situation, except that it was asserted (though Mr. Leonard appeared to deny it) that Dr. Jameson is in Pretoria, a

prisoner of war. Next came Mr. Abe Bailey. This gentleman could find nothing better to say than that he had acted for the best ; if he had been wrong he would bear the penalty. He retired amid a storm of groans and hisses. The want of a man who can deal with a crowd is painfully evident. This particular crowd is a perfectly honest one : it has followed this Committee into revolutionary courses, it is bursting with anxiety to learn news of Dr. Jameson and his gallant force, and it is driven into hostility to its leaders by their weakness of speech. Meantime a man on the outskirts of the crowd is obtaining a hearing. He asserts that at eleven o'clock this morning he was witness of an engagement between Dr. Jameson's party and a force of several thousand Boers ; that the invaders had been without food for forty-eight hours, that they

were surrounded and shot down in heaps, and that the Doctor with the remnant of his men and all his guns surrendered. He states that after the engagement he counted within a space of fifty yards the bodies of fifteen Chartered Police and thirty-two horses. All this is probably an exaggeration, possibly an invention ; but there can be little doubt that a disaster has happened. Once more the Boer sharpshooters have worsted a British force.

It is difficult in this tumult of rage, grief, and apprehension to keep an even mind, but I take the truth to be this : that pending the arrival of the High Commissioner, an armistice having been agreed on, and the Reform Committee [probably having received peremptory orders from His Excellency to make no offensive move, Dr. Jameson has of

necessity been left to fight his own battle and has been beaten. Apparently there is no man among the leaders who can make the crowd understand this, and the reiterated question, 'Why didn't you send a force to help him?' remains unanswered.

As I write, a late edition of the *Star* comes to hand. It confirms the news of Dr. Jameson's surrender this morning, after a final and desperate encounter. The terms, if any, of the capitulation have not been ascertained, but the Boers took possession of the Maxims, and disarmed the defeated troops.

The following notice is issued by the Reform Committee:—

'The Committee recognise that at this juncture the interests of Dr. Jameson are paramount, and that any ill-considered or

aggressive step taken by this Committee will grievously complicate the situation.

‘Her Majesty’s High Commissioner will arrive on Saturday, and the Committee urge upon the inhabitants of Johannesburg the absolute necessity for the preservation of order.

‘The Government has given an assurance that the marching of troops on Johannesburg is not contemplated, and further states that it will give no cause for conflict.

‘Meanwhile the Committee have taken all necessary steps for the public safety.’

And so ends this day of intense excitement to all, to many of grief and bitter disappointment. The supposed degeneracy of the Boers has proved a dream; once again they have shown themselves masters of guerilla warfare; Majuba was not a ‘fluke’



after all, and the memory of that defeat, still unhappily present to Englishmen throughout South Africa, is made more sombre by this fresh disaster.

*Friday, January 3.*—It is easy to be wise after the event. But I cannot but remember that when the possibility of some such movements as these which have taken place was discussed (as it was frequently) months ago at Bulawayo, there were some who had an uneasy feeling that the Boers of to-day might prove as good men with the rifle in their age as in their youth, or as their fathers before them. This was not the popular view. It was held that the young men were not as the old; that owing to the disappearance of big game they had not had the same training with the rifle; and that the hardy Boer of old was vanishing before the ‘civilising influences’

of the Rand. But events have proved that the Boer of to-day can hold his rifle as straight, and take as good care of his own person, as his predecessor.

Practically no news of a trustworthy nature is obtainable this morning. According to the papers, Jameson lost 140 men killed and wounded. We can only wait impatiently for the full particulars.

The street is unanimous in condemning the Committee. They, or some of their number, invited Jameson's assistance—unless his letter to the commandant of the Marico is deliberately untrue—and when he had fought his way to within a few miles of their outposts, and was in desperate need of help, they failed to back him up. The case for the Committee, as far as I understand it, is this :—

1. They believed Jameson with his splendid

force of irregular cavalry was sure to get through; and, further, they had actually received a message from him early yesterday morning to the effect that he was in no need of assistance and would be in Johannesburg in a few hours.

2. Whether the armistice covered Jameson or not, it precluded them from sending an armed force to his assistance.

3. They had received peremptory orders from the Imperial Government, through the High Commissioner's proclamation (and perhaps otherwise), to take no steps to assist the invading force.

The crowd does not seem to appreciate the last point. Whatever the actual legal powers of the High Commissioner may be, he speaks for England, and the forces of England are at his back.

Intelligence as to how the position is regarded in London, especially as expressed in the price of Chartered and other shares, is awaited with interest. Here the Stock Exchange is closed until further notice, as are also the drinking bars; so that at one blow Johannesburg is deprived of two of its most characteristic features.

The High Commissioner is reported to have left Cape Town by special train last night, and may be expected to reach Pretoria to-morrow. The distance is about 1,100 miles. Until his arrival the hours will drag wearily here, and, if I am not mistaken, the feeling of despondency which is obviously prevalent this morning is likely to deepen with delay. Armed bands are still parading the streets, but the first flush of enthusiasm has faded. It is not likely that His Excel-

lency will permit any fighting, or that the Revolutionary Committee will venture to disobey him. The Boers are reported to be quite sweetly reasonable, and the 'Reformers' will have to take what reforms they can get and be thankful.

Meantime, in the persons of Dr. Jameson and his men, the Government holds hostages for the good behaviour of Johannesburg. It not being known whether the Doctor made any terms at the time of his surrender, some anxiety has been felt as to how they may be treated. It was even suggested that the Boers might shoot them in cold blood as pirates, but this is incredible. Such a course would at least provoke a frightful retaliation.

At noon is issued the *Critic*, the remarkably able paper which weekly thunders against the corruption and cruelty of the

Boer administration. The editor-in-charge, Mr. Gustave Hallé, son of the late Sir Charles Hallé, rises to the occasion, and is worth quoting *in extenso* :—

*‘The Situation.*

‘It will be understood that the constantly changing aspect of affairs has made it a matter of extreme difficulty to represent the latest phase of the position in this issue, although it was held open until the latest minute possible. On this Friday morning affairs stand thus : Dr. Jameson, in coming into this country on his own initiative upon rumours of trouble at the Rand, acted in the spirit that at the time of the Indian Mutiny led British officers in charge of transport ships bound elsewhere to disembark their troops on their own responsibility in aid of

their fellow-countrymen. After the most heroic and protracted struggle against privation and overwhelming odds, Dr. Jameson has laid down his arms. There has been absolutely no loss of *prestige*, but rather a maintenance of the heroic reputation of the Chartered forces.

‘There is still to be demanded of the High Commissioner and the Pretoria Government the true explanation of the terms of the armistice; how it has come about that provision was not made in it for the safety of the Jameson Expedition, or, if made, how it has happened that it was not observed?’

‘Meanwhile, there is one thing absolutely demanded of every man in Johannesburg—remembrance of the women and children in our midst, and the necessity for their sakes of the preservation of law, order, and discipline.

‘The arrangements of the Reform Committee in this critical moment have been phenomenal in their completeness. The absolute safety of the town and the sufficiency of means to carry through our purpose of obtaining an assured security for the future peaceful development of this district remain unaffected by this incident of the Jameson Expedition.

‘It was impossible for the Committee to march to the relief of Dr. Jameson without imperilling the whole cause of our just claims and demands by high international complications. They are deserving of our redoubled aid and confidence in the additional serious difficulty now thrown upon them.

‘Let all the leading men in town voluntarily join them, and let every one of us rally at once round the so-strengthened body of



our leaders. It is not by one check—in this case there has been less a check than a warning to both sides of the reality and the grimness of the moment—that Englishmen, that civilised men, desert their purpose.

‘What we contend for is the pacification of the Transvaal on the basis of equal rights to all of every nationality, new-comers or older burghers, and this is a cause that must prevail as the tide of the sea. It is the resistless march of progress and of civilisation.

‘Let the arrival of Her Majesty’s High Commissioner, and the subsequent negotiations, find us not only united from end to end of the Rand, and unshaken, but rather fired in our determination by the heroic example of Dr. Jameson and his thrice gallant followers.

‘THE EDITOR-IN-CHARGE.’

The *Critic* evidently has not lost heart. May its brave words tend to revive the somewhat drooping spirits of the Uitlanders !

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that Dr. Jameson's brave dash to their aid will lead the *Critic* and Johannesburg generally to regard the Chartered Company, its territory, and all its works with a less jaundiced eye. If a *rapprochement* results between the Rand and Rhodesia, something, if it is but a little thing, will have been achieved.

The Reform Committee issued the following notice at noon :—

‘ Resolved : That in view of the declaration by the Transvaal Government to Her Majesty's Agent that the mediation of the High Commissioner has been accepted and that no hostile action will be taken against Johannesburg pending the results of these negotiations,

the Committee emphatically direct that under no circumstances must any hostile action be taken by the supporters of the Reform Committee, and that in the event of aggressive action being taken against them a flag of truce be shown and no resistance be offered.

‘In order to avoid any possibility of collision definite orders have been given. The matter is now left with the mediation of the High Commissioner, and any breach of the peace in the meanwhile would be an act of bad faith.

‘By order of the Committee.’

10 P.M.—This evening for the first time, as far as I am aware, a list of the Reform Committee is published. It contains seventy-seven names, and includes representatives, as was previously known, of the chief financial

houses on the Rand—the Goldfields of South Africa, Eckstein & Co., Barnato Bros., George Farrar, H. B. Marshall, F. Mosenthal, &c., &c., as well as, of course, Messrs. C. and J. W. Leonard and Dr. Jameson's brother, Mr. S. W. Jameson.

It is stated that the terms on which Jameson surrendered were as follows:—

1. That the force should lay down its arms.

2. That Jameson should pay an indemnity for the whole business. (When he asked 'How much?' they replied, 'Oh, you will have the account later.')

3. That they should be prisoners until further orders were received from the General.

Dr. Jameson asked that food should be immediately supplied to his men, which was at once agreed to.

To-night there is a comparatively small concourse in the streets, and the city is quiet. There is a certain amount of irresponsible haranguing at street corners, and the name of Jameson strikes the ear everywhere. The many-headed populace is not easy in its mind about him.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

'Cn. Pompeius iterum consul corrigendis moribus delectus.'  
TACITUS.

*Saturday, January 4.*—Amid the excitement and disappointment of the last two days the real position of affairs (so argue the supporters of the Committee) has to some extent been lost sight of. Jameson's ride, which is really an episode, has come, through stress of circumstances and the glamour of its daring, to be regarded as the central feature of the revolutionary movement. In effect the position is the same as at the beginning of the week, with the important exception that the

Government and the Reform Committee have both accepted the intervention of the High Commissioner, who is expected to reach Pretoria to-day. That position is that the Uitlanders, represented by the National Union, have preferred certain demands, mainly to be admitted to the rights of citizenship in this Republic. Being alarmed, as they allege, by the military preparations of the Government—the building of forts and the importation of munitions of war—they have produced large stocks of arms which they have themselves secretly imported for the purpose of self-protection, and having enrolled thousands of their fellow-townsmen they express their determination to hold the town against any force the Government may bring against it until such time as their demands are granted. The fact that they or some of their number

invited Dr. Jameson from over the border to aid them in holding the town does not alter the position they have taken up, or their determination to stand by their demands.

The Committee does not itself express this very clearly, and there is consequently some confusion in the popular mind ; but the above is a fair statement of the attitude of its out-and-out supporters.

Yet there is no denying that a sort of blight seems to have settled on the whole business. Not only has popular enthusiasm cooled, but the Committee lacks the 'go' which characterised its earlier proceedings. I cannot help suspecting that it has received some peremptory communication from the Imperial Government which has not been made public, or that some other restraining influence is at work.



Moreover, the Government has now had plenty of time to summon its forces from the outlying districts, and the burghers are flocking to the standard from all parts of the Transvaal. A force of 8,000 men is said to be ready to attack Johannesburg should the negotiations fail. There is also great excitement in the Orange Free State, and the Dutch farmers are gathering on the frontier with a view to crossing the Vaal River in aid of their kinsmen. The revolutionary position is in fact rapidly becoming untenable.

Both sides appear to be doing their utmost to respect the armistice. But there is evidently a certain nervousness, both on the side of the Government and on that of the revolutionary leaders, that a party of Boers may get out of hand and make a rush for the town. There is also the constant danger of

a collision between the scouting parties on either side. It is reported that a party of four Uitlander scouts was fired upon yesterday afternoon by a number of Boers who were ranged on the hills beyond the Wemmer dam. The scouts retired without returning the fire. About thirty shots were fired at long ranges, between 800 and 1,000 yards.

The Relief Committee has made very elaborate arrangements to house a considerable number of women and children 'should any panic or rush take place in the town.' Many of the chief storekeepers have offered what available space they have, and these places are being fitted up with mattresses, blankets, &c., and provisioning has also been arranged.

The town so far has been perfectly quiet. It is, in fact, excellently policed. On Thurs-

day night a Kaffir who was caught in the act of breaking into a store in Pritchard Street was promptly shot dead by one of the mounted guard.

There is little news of importance this morning. Mr. Rhodes's resignation of the Premiership of Cape Colony, which has been reported for some days past, is confirmed, but outside matters excite little interest here at this moment.

It is still impossible to ascertain the exact loss sustained by Jameson's column previous to the surrender. The newspapers are full of statements and accounts more or less incoherent or incompatible. Captain Lindsell, who was reported killed, is, I am glad to see, safe, having been taken prisoner by the Boers previous to the final engagement. Captain the Hon. Charles Coventry lies in a very precarious

condition. He was shot through the back, and his recovery is considered impossible. No less than six officers of Her Majesty's Household troops are in the hands of the Boers.

In the midst of war's alarms a big Government notice meets the eye everywhere this morning, that, dog-licences having expired on December 31 last, any person found in possession of a dog without the necessary licence on and after January 15 will be prosecuted according to law. Some Jack-in-office sitting in Government Buildings apparently thought it time to assert himself.

10 P.M.—The town wears a very peaceful appearance to-night. Many of the shops are reopened, though their windows are still boarded up, and the townsfolk are doing their Saturday night's marketing as in ordinary times. The Salvation Army, and other

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10 P.M.—The town wears a very peaceful appearance to-night. Many of the shops are reopened, though their windows are still boarded up, and the townsfolk are doing their Saturday night's marketing as in ordinary times. The Salvation Army, and other

street orators, are commanding fair audiences. There is only a very diminished crowd in front of the Goldfields Office, but it is noticeable that the building is more closely guarded than hitherto. There are at least a dozen sentries. They have now had time to rig themselves out properly for the part, and very smart and workmanlike they look in their Kharkee jackets and breeches and field boots, with ammunition belts across their shoulders. Their special activity is very likely due to a little incident which has occurred to-day. It was stated in one of the morning papers that Commandant Schutte had announced his intention of introducing five hundred unarmed burghers into the town this evening 'in order to preserve the peace.' The Reform Committee promptly telegraphed to the British Agent at Pretoria calling his

attention to the matter. In reply Sir Jacobus de Wet states that he is assured by the Government that this has been done with no menacing intent, and that no apprehensions need be entertained of any overt act on the part of these men. But the incident shows the critical character of the situation. A very small spark would raise a great conflagration from these inflammable materials. There is also the constant danger of a conflict at the outposts. This morning a lieutenant of one of the corps, who was out scouting near Langlaagte, was fired upon, the bullet passing through his hat. The High Commissioner is expected to reach Pretoria at eight o'clock to-night, and it is to be hoped that his arrival will relieve the tension.

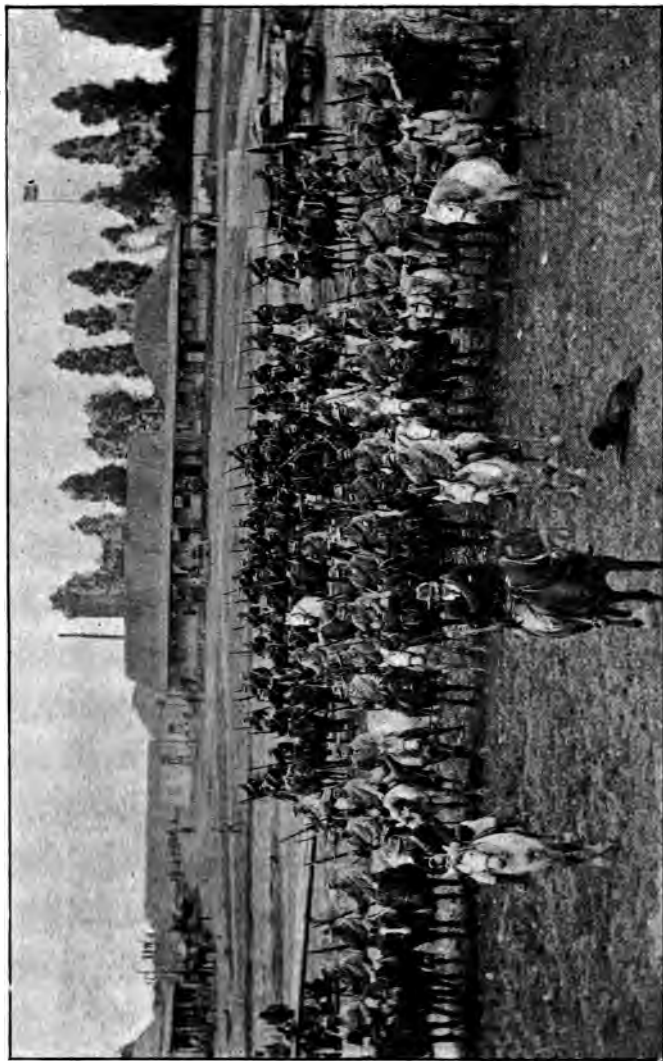
Dr. Jameson, with his officers and men, are being extremely well treated by the Trans-

vaal Government. They are supplied with every comfort and permitted to communicate with their friends. It is reported that they are to be handed over to the civil authorities for trial, but it is not anticipated that the Government will raise much difficulty about surrendering them to the British authorities, who will doubtless hold an inquiry into their proceedings.

*Monday, January 6.*—Sunday passed quietly. There was, as usual, a fine crop of rumours, chiefly dealing with supposed attacks on the outposts. There is some foundation for these, and the position is one of danger. A very large force of Boers is gathering round the town, and may at any minute get out of hand.

Sir Hercules Robinson arrived at Pretoria on Saturday night, and it is expected that





AUSTRALIAN CORPS AT THE ROBINSON MINE

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negotiations will commence to-day. He met President Kruger formally yesterday, but no business was discussed, the President's Sabbatarianism admitting no exception.

A letter is published this morning which is asserted to have been picked up on the battlefield of Doornkop, where Jameson surrendered. It is addressed to him, and is signed by Charles Leonard, Francis Rhodes, Lionel Phillips, John Hays Hammond, and George Farrar. After setting forth the grievances of Johannesburg, it states that the Government has called into existence all the elements necessary for armed conflict. 'What we have to consider is: What will be the condition of things here in the event of conflict? Thousands of unarmed men, women, and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers, while

property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We cannot contemplate the future without the gravest apprehension, and feel that we are justified in taking steps to prevent the shedding of blood and to ensure the protection of our rights.

‘It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid should disturbance arise here. The circumstances are so extreme that we cannot avoid this step, and we cannot but believe that you and the men under you will not fail to come to the rescue of the people who would be so situated. We guarantee any expense that may be incurred by you in helping us, and ask you to believe that nothing but the sternest necessity has prompted this appeal.’

The letter being dated December 29, and

Jameson having crossed the border on the 28th, it was at once pronounced a forgery. The Telegraph Exchange subsequently explained that the 29th was a clerical error for the 20th. At any rate, it is probable that some such letter was sent. The Reform Committee has never stated that Jameson crossed the border without its invitation, only that he did so 'without its knowledge.' Whatever was done was doubtless done only by what may be termed the 'Inner Circle' of the Committee. There is much in the style of this letter that reminds one of the manifesto.

6 P.M.—It cannot be disguised any longer that the revolutionary movement has broken down. The High Commissioner met the Government this morning at Pretoria, and they agreed, as a condition precedent to

the opening of negotiations with regard to Dr. Jameson's position, and the applying of remedies to the grievances of Johannesburg, that the Reform Committee should disarm. What course the Committee will take can only be guessed, but it is rapidly climbing down. A notice posted this morning at the Goldfields Office states that negotiations have commenced, and warns the public against believing current rumours. It promises to use every endeavour to obtain and publish authentic news, and concludes by asking those who are not directly employed in the maintenance of public order to return to their ordinary avocations. This is the beginning of the end. To your tents, O Israel!

A little whisper reaches me this evening which, if true, explains much that has

hitherto been incomprehensible in the conduct of the Committee. My informant, who has had some experience in South African warfare, assures me that while the Committee can make a brave show of rifles and Maxims, it is lamentably short of ammunition, of which, for a prolonged conflict, a quantity almost incredible to the layman is required. This, he says, was the reason of the extraordinary reliance placed on Jameson's force, whose assistance was (ostensibly) not contemplated when arms were taken up, and of the throwing up of the sponge when he was defeated. If this story is true, the Committee incurred a very grave responsibility in inducing their fellow-townsmen to join their enterprise on the ground that they had prepared for every event.

A serious conflict, of which the conse-

quences might have been far-reaching, all but occurred to-day. At the Bonanza Mine a large herd of cattle is 'laagered,' collected there by the Reform Committee for the provisioning of the town. A party of Boers swooped down on the cattle this morning and carried off two hundred head. A troop of Uitlanders immediately gave chase to the marauders, and if a mounted messenger had not arrived post haste from the town, with orders that they were to desist and let the cattle go, a serious fight would have taken place and probably spread in all directions. On the matter coming to the ears of the Boer Commandant Schutte, he ordered that the cattle should be restored, and this was done.

There is great anxiety in Johannesburg to-night, partly at the prospect of a sudden



attack by irresponsible Boers, partly from the fear that the negotiations may suddenly break down and that the Government may shell the town. Many people who have preserved a bold front hitherto have hurriedly left to-day, some for Pretoria, the lion's den being considered a safer place than his hunting-ground.

*Tuesday, January 7.*—The papers appear this morning with the following announcement in heavy type :—‘ We understand, on the authority of Sir Sydney Shippard, that if a single shot is fired against the burghers, Dr. Jameson's life will be seriously endangered. The High Commissioner earnestly requests the people of Johannesburg to lay down their arms.’

The news from Pretoria is serious. The Government insists on the above condition

before opening negotiations, and an order is said to have been issued to the military forces to be ready for to-day in case no satisfactory reply is received from Johannesburg.

What course the Reform Committee will take is the universal topic. The more reckless of its supporters are urging it to fight, and the rabble, which foresees a prospect of loot if the town is attacked, is clamorous against surrender; but it can hardly be doubted what the Committee's action will be. It is rumoured that rifles are being sent back hastily to the mines whence they were brought last week.

The revolutionary movement has been a sad fiasco. The Government has the ball at its feet. Its threat to deal summarily with Dr. Jameson and his men has rendered any further resistance here impossible, even if the

forces which the Government has had time to collect are insufficient to overawe the town.

The Government is certainly behaving remarkably well, apparently with the consciousness of strength. The High Commissioner is stated to have expressed his high appreciation of the merciful treatment of the prisoners. The Government has also actually voted 50,000*l.* for the relief of distress in Johannesburg.

A Dutch gentleman, a Government official, whom I have frequently the privilege of meeting here, is this morning loud in his praise of 'Lord Chamberlain.' If this is the temper of the ruling classes here, it augurs well for a settlement which will be satisfactory to Great Britain at least.

6 P.M.—The Reform Committee has taken

the plunge with as good a grace as possible. The following notice was issued at noon:—

‘ The Reform Committee notify hereby that all rifles issued for the defence of life and property in town and the mines are to be returned at once to the Central Office, in order to enable the Committee to carry out the agreement with the Government, upon the faithful observance of which so much is dependent.

‘ The Committee desire to make it known that late last night they received an intimation from Her Majesty’s Agent in Pretoria to the effect that the decision of the Government was that Johannesburg must lay down its arms as a condition precedent to the discussion and consideration of grievances.

‘ The Committee met this morning to con-

sider the position, and it was unanimously resolved to accept the ultimatum of the Government for reasons which the following communications sufficiently explain :—

“ “Telegram from His Excellency the High Commissioner to Sir Jacobus de Wet, Johannesburg. . (Received 7.36 A.M., January 7, 1896.)

“ “URGENT.—You should inform the Johannesburg people that I consider that if they lay down their arms they will be acting loyally and honourably, and that if they do not comply with my request they forfeit all claim to sympathy from Her Majesty's Government and from British subjects throughout the world, as the lives of Jameson and the prisoners are now practically in their hands.”

## ‘ “ MEMORANDUM.

“Sir Jacobus de Wet, Her Majesty’s Agent at Pretoria, has notified to the Committee that he has been officially informed by the Government in Pretoria that upon Johannesburg laying down its arms Dr. Jameson and his force will be handed over to Her Majesty’s High Commissioner.

‘ “ By order,

‘ “ J. PERCY FITZPATRICK, Secretary.

‘ “ Johannesburg, January 7.

‘ “ The above is correct.

‘ “ (Signed) J. A. DE WET, H.B.M. Agent.”

‘ The Committee can add nothing to the above, and feel that there will not be one man among the thousands who have joined the Reform Movement who will not find it

consistent with honour and humanity to co-operate loyally in the carrying out of the Committee's decision.'

About the same time that this notice was issued, Sir Jacobus de Wet, who had come by special train from Pretoria, and Sir Sydney Shippard (Her Majesty's Administrator of Bechuanaland), who came last night to confer with the Reform Committee, addressed a crowd of several thousand people from the balcony of the Rand Club. Sir J. de Wet made an earnest appeal to his fellow-countrymen, his fellow-subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, to put aside the sentiments with which they were fired, and to lay aside their arms. It was no disgrace to them as Englishmen, and it was the wish of Sir Hercules Robinson, Her Majesty's representative, who had sent him to speak in his name and to ask them to do so.

Sir Sydney Shippard spoke as one who had spent his life in the service of the Queen. As Her Majesty's servant he had had no part in the agitation resulting from their wrongs, which had led to this crisis. But he sympathised deeply in his heart with their struggle for what he believed to be their just rights. He would take the position as it stood. He said they owed a debt of gratitude to the man now lying in prison in Pretoria. That man had come at the risk of his life and his men's. Whatever could be said of the illegality of his action, there could be no two opinions about his bravery. The Government made one condition for his safety. If they laid down their arms he would be delivered up. If they remained in arms he would be kept in prison. They had a duty to this man; as men of honour they were bound to save his



life. The Government of this Republic had behaved under very trying circumstances with magnanimity and even generosity. They were prepared to consider the matter of Constitutional reforms. He, whose heart and soul was with them, besought them to follow the advice of the High Commissioner, to deliver up their arms, and to go to their homes and their usual avocations.

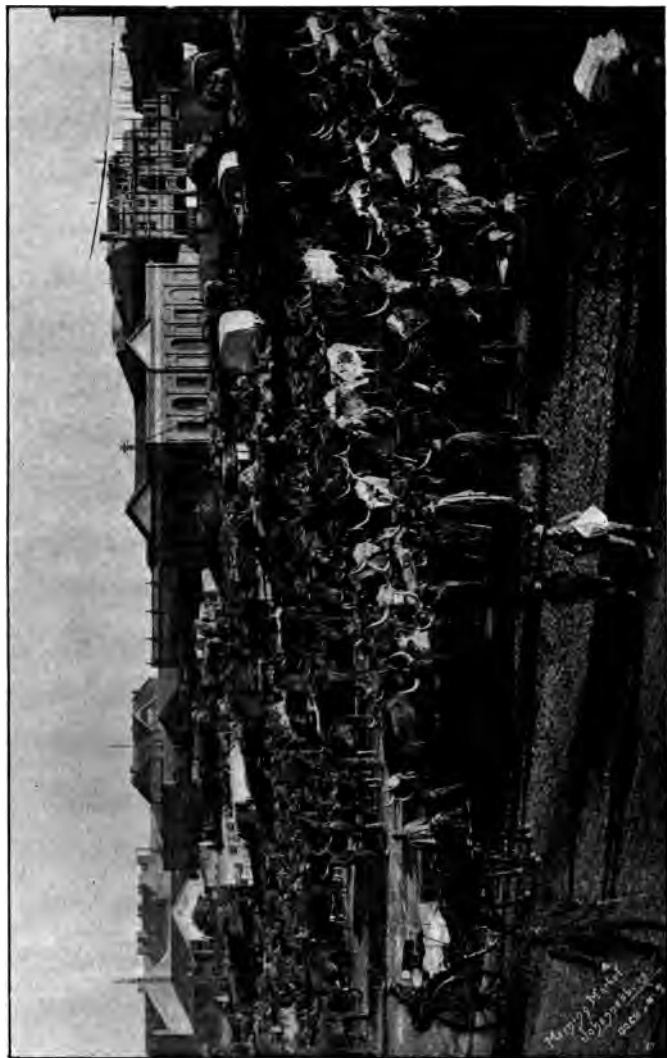
And so ends the uprising of Johannesburg. This afternoon people are commencing to go about their business again in the ordinary way. The Stock Exchange has reopened, and shares are beginning to rise from their Slough of Despond. The streets echo indeed now and again with the tramp of armed men and the clatter of hard-ridden horses. But it is only the outposts coming in to disband, and it is safe to prophesy that

to-morrow all evidences of the struggle will have disappeared. The Transvaal Government has behaved with wisdom and generosity in its treatment of Jameson and his men. If it shows the same spirit in the negotiations which are to follow, a long step will have been taken towards the great goal of a United South Africa.

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#### POSTSCRIPT

*Johannesburg, January 26.*—Two or three weeks have elapsed since the stirring events of the opening year. Outwardly at least, Johannesburg has returned to its normal conditions. To a superficial observer there is nothing unusual in the aspect of the town or the demeanour of its inhabitants, and it is difficult to realise that so short a time



JOHANNESBURG MORNING MARKET IN ORDINARY TIMES

Harold Mitchell  
10/1/1904  
1904

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ago the wild passions of revolution raged unchecked.

Most of the members of the Reform Committee have been arrested and confined in Pretoria Gaol; but with the exception of five—Colonel Rhodes and Messrs. Lionel Phillips, George Farrar, John Hays Hammond, and Fitzpatrick—they have since been released on bail, on the condition that they remain in Pretoria until their trial, expected to take place in April. Dr. Jameson and his men have been surrendered to the British authorities, and have passed through Natal on their way to England.

One fact, which was not clear at the time, now stands out plainly. The Reform agitation was ruined by the incursion of Jameson. I visited one of the leading members of the Committee in Pretoria Gaol last

week, and was assured by him that he was utterly at a loss to understand what led Jameson to cross the border when he did. Whether the Committee, or a portion of it, was in correspondence with him or not; whether his action was the result of a pre-concerted agreement, or was due entirely to his own initiative; it is clear that Jameson's move, at the time he made it, was fatal to the Reformers' plans. Their intention was to hold the public meeting called for January 6, to show that Johannesburg was solid in favour of the National Union manifesto, and, in the event of the Government making any hostile move, to produce the arms secretly imported for self-protection, and to cry 'No surrender!' Their policy was a game of bluff. Probably not even the most pugnacious seriously contemplated at the

outset the waging of civil war against the Government. It is commonly believed here that Jameson was lured over the border by a fraudulent telegram despatched by a partisan of the Government. Possibly this and other obscure matters will be cleared up at the inquiry to be held in England.

Nor can it be disguised that the capture of Jameson's party saved Johannesburg from a frightful calamity. If he had entered the town there can be little doubt that the Boers would have attacked it in force, and that a desperate struggle would have taken place, involving great loss of life, and possibly the destruction of the town, and the overthrow of the great industrial fabric raised with laborious ingenuity and marvellous rapidity during the past nine years.

But, tranquil as is the outward aspect of

affairs, it is not difficult to discern that the calm is merely superficial, and that in some respects the situation is as critical as ever. There is a general feeling of unrest. Commercial affairs languish through the universal distrust. Wholesale houses have withdrawn the credit commonly given to storekeepers throughout the Rand, and diminished transactions are with difficulty conducted on a cash basis. More serious still is the position at the mines. Reports that many were to be shut down have been contradicted; but I was told yesterday by a director of a large group of mines that orders had been given to their managers to do no other than absolutely necessary work and to undertake no new developments. As a result, large numbers of men, workmen and clerks alike, will be crowding the streets in search of employ-



ment, and will form an element only too prone to disorder.

There is no doubt, too, that the Boers generally are immensely elated by their success. They have again beaten a force of Englishmen in the field, and they commonly believe that they have nothing to fear from the might of England. Already they and their partisans are denying the suzerainty of the Queen and demanding the complete independence of the Republic. President Kruger is credited with being a statesman and with taking a statesmanlike view of the necessity of making some concessions to the Uitlanders; but it is feared that, in the present temper of his people, he may not be strong enough to enforce what he himself knows to be necessary. It may easily happen in such a condition of affairs that the armed intervention

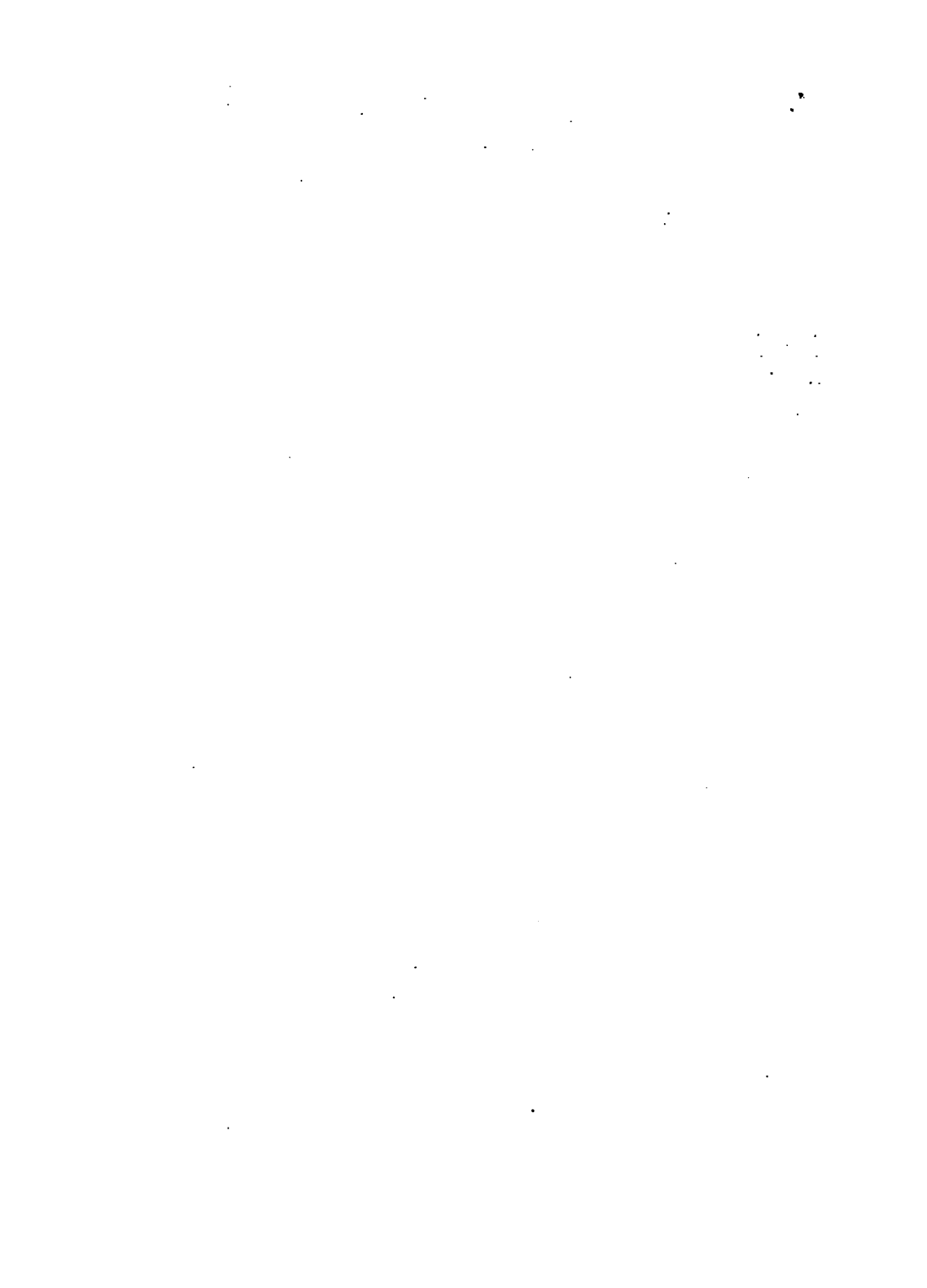
of England will become imperatively necessary. It is this fear of the sudden outbreak of a war, of which no man can foresee the consequences, that is producing the present uneasiness. The political work of Mr. Rhodes in Cape Colony, his teaching that the Dutch and English elements may and must dwell together in amity, would in such an event be shattered at a blow and South Africa thrown back into a miserable war of races.

For such an eventuality it is certain that the Boers are making active preparations. An eye-witness describes to me the rapid building of a fort between Heidelberg and Standerton, with the object of checking a British advance from Natal. The fort lies in a strong position about a mile from the new line, with which it is connected by a siding. The earthworks are already four or five feet

high. The forward party among the Boers is said to be anxious to take the initiative, and an invasion of Rhodesia is even talked of. The British occupation of the country north of the Limpopo has always been a sore point, the Boers having previously looked upon it as their reversion. Nor is Mr. Rhodes's successful staying of the 'Boer trek' forgotten. To-day wild rumours are rife. It is persistently said that a skirmish has taken place on the border to the north of Mafeking, and that thirty Boers have been killed. The story is unconfirmed and is probably untrue, but its eager acceptance shows the drift of men's minds.

The future lies with Mr. Kruger and his 'faithful burghers.' Johannesburg is a cosmopolitan city; there is no strong desire to see the British flag flying over Government

Buildings. The population wants nothing better than to live and work under a Republican form of government, in which itself has a voice—even for the present a subordinate voice. If Mr. Kruger is wise enough to initiate and strong enough to carry through a policy of reasonable concession, he may easily win the bulk of the Uitlanders to be his warmest supporters, and consolidate his Republic on a basis of unassailable strength.



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